1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

535 ×639

11. Then we, having sung,
Go back whence we came.
Watch! It will not be long
Till the earth grows very green.

During the last two repetitions of the song, the dancers arrange themselves side by side and still skipping, they move off the dance ground. When they pass the singers, they break into a run, which they keep up until they reach their own camp.

535 574 Everyone in the host village gathered to watch the skipping dance, and anyone who wished might leave the crowd and skip by the side of some favored visitor. As a rule, only old women had the boldness to do this. The act was considered an honor to the visitor, and his relatives generally met them as they returned, breathless, and presented some small gift, such as a basket or a headband. Song number eight refers to this practice.

789 536 574 The performance was in the nature of an elaborate rain charm, for the benefit of the host village. The name of the village was always mentioned, and the very pronouncing of it in such a connection was a guarantee of blessing. At one of the recent paid performances the number of repetitions of the songs was cut down, lest the White audience be bored. The result was "only a little shower, just over the Hollow Place and nowhere else. If the dance had been properly done, we should all have had rain."

674 476 For the blessing thus brought to their village, the hosts were prepared to pay. They had held a meeting beforehand and decided on the contribution to be made by each.[2] Such a contribution was considered a public duty, and it also assured special prosperity to him who made it. Moreover, next year, when his village was in turn the challenger, he would receive equal value and, if his host could afford it, even more. The payment was an investment on his own behalf and that of his village. But it was often made in a burlesque form, calculated to add to the general merriment.

574 The hostesses brought cooked food to the dance ground, and sometimes threw it to the dancers during their performance. They might also chase them, as they ran for camp, hurling food at them. The dancers washed off their paint and returned to the plaza, where

[2] Underhill, 1939, pp. 108–10.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The Sonora churches have no regular Sunday services. The dates celebrated are Christmas, Easter, All Souls' Day, and one or two saints' days. Supposedly the festival celebrated is that of the patron saint, but few Papago are clear on this. In their minds all the chapels are dedicated to San Francisco Xavier, whose photographs crowd the walls. This picture shows the effigy found in so many Jesuit churches, representing the saint, clad in his bishop's robes and lying upon his tomb, as he does in his own mission church at Macao in the South Seas. No step in acculturation could be more drastic than this cult of a dead man, by the Papago, who fear the dead and taboo their names. To the writer, it seems possible that they never grasped the fact that the pictures do represent a sarcophagus.

For a week before a feast day all the related families who "own" the church work hard. The men clear the grounds and repair the adobe building. They straighten the wooden cross which stands opposite the door some forty or fifty yards away. They clean off the dance ground, a flat space of gravel between cross and church. Generally this has over and around it an arrangement of poles and cross pieces like the skeleton of a tent, and these are decorated with paper pennants in various colors. In the feast house, an adobe building next door with a huge outdoor kitchen, the earthen ovens are cleaned, and wood is brought for fires.

The women clean the inside of the church, dusting the photographs, laying clean cloths on the altar, and perhaps making a new saint's bed of silk and lace. On the earthen floor they lay canvas. Then the most skillful ones sit down to make crepe paper flowers to decorate altar and outdoor cross. Others clean the kitchen and the big wooden tables in the feast house, where the whole village will be asked to dine. The group of owner families has been assessed for meat, beans, and canned goods. Toward the end of the week all the women gather at the feast house and spell each other in baking bread.

At twilight on the eve of the feast day dinner is served to all comers. The two head men take turns acting as major domo, the women cook, the young men wait at table, the girls help in the

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 (Group I. 5, contained a nephew of Ego's dead wife, who had moved because he needed more land. But having joined, for economic purposes, with a group of his affinals, he proceeded to have all his intimate relations with them and, even in winter, when he moved back near his blood kin, his relations were with the new group, not with the old. It was propinquity which determined intimacy.)

An old village was larger and contained more unrelated families but it was generally segemented into groups of kin who continued to build houses near each other and to unite for work sharing, almost as though they were a separate village. The selection of these groups was as dependent on economic chance as that of a new village for, though usually close kin kept together, some of them might, for reasons of land or housing convenience, become attached to a group of more distant relatives. Then they would throw in their lot with these new neighbor-kin and have their closest relationships with them rather than with the old group.

Kin groups recorded for old villages are as follows:

Appendix I. 1 Ego
Three brothers
One sister
(A group of paternal relatives lived elsewhere in the village)

I. 2 Ego
"Near sibling" i.e. first cousin, side of house unknown
Father's younger sister
Father's mother' daughter's son to Ego's wife
Father's father's brother's son to Ego's wife
Two brother's of Ego's wife
Two father's father's brother's sons' daughters to Ego's son's wife
(In another part of the village lived relatives who were actually closer to Ego, i. e. two daughter's of Ego's younger brother with other relatives of his wife.)

I. 6 Ego
Younger brother
Younger sister
Younger sister's daughter

602 [594] 241 476 Each biological family in a group worked its land in common, (at least until the death of the father) but on special occasions, such as planting and harvesting, they called in the neighbor kin and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

were called by them in turn. Every one who worked received a share of the harvest commensurate, not with his work but with what the owner could spare. The more an owner gave, the higher his repute and the greater his assurance of getting service in his turn. For other activities, such as house building, the workers received only their meals but again they had the assurance of future help.

Work sharing may be considered the basis of the whole arrangement but the group having been formed for this purpose, was kept in running order by constant exhibitions of goodwill. These took the practical form of gifts and gifts of the one commodity which the Papago ever possessed in excess of their need: food.

When a hunter brought home a deer, he went to each main house and presented a portion proportionate to the size of the family there. If there were hunters in that house, his family would soon receive a similar gift: if not it would be any other food they could afford. But with such relatives, there was a distinct obligation not to cease giving even though there should be no return. The investment was a long term affair to be realized on in the future if not the present.

The women treated each other similarly. Whenever a special dish was cooked in one house. children would be sent around to carry portions of it to all the others. Some groups went so far that they interchanged such food gifts every day at the evening meal, the only heavy one. (App. I, 3 C and D. I. 8. C. D and E) "So you were never hungry. Even if you didn't cook one day, a dish would be sure to come in from some of the relatives." As the groups grew larger, not every house could be so treated. (I, 8, A & B). Then a woman would give regularly only to her husband's siblings (I. 3. A. 2; I. 7) with, perhaps, some old people who needed help. Or there might be family cliques and favoritism. (I. 3; I. 9). One woman, who happened to have both brothers and sisters nearby, "always gave to her brothers for she thought the sisters could cook for themselves." But even if certain families were not often included, a gift must be sent to them now and then to keep up good feeling. (I. 2. A; I. 4. A; I. 5. A).

The geographic group had ceremonial obligations as well as economic ones. Every Papago youth was expected to become a "ripe man" through the performance of certain ceremonial acts which conferred a blessing but also subjected him to supernatural dangers. In both danger and blessing the kin were thought to share and therefore, while the youth fasted and bathed to purify himself, the kin abstained from salt and bathed also. When I inquired what

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

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When I was nearly as tall as my mother, that thing happened to me which happens to all our women though I do not know if it does to the Whites; I never saw any signs. It is called menses. 159x 881

Girls are very dangerous at that time. If they touch a man's bow, or even look at it, that bow will not shoot any more. If they drink out of a man's bowl, it will make him sick. If they touch the man himself, he might fall down dead. My mother had told us this long ago and we knew what had happened in our village.

There was a girl once who became dangerous and she did not tell. They were having a good time that day. All the village was planting in her father's field, and he had given them a meal of succotash. They were eating out in the field, her mother was cooking over a campfire. My mother was there and she said this girl was standing with a bowl in the crook of her arm, laughing and eating. It began to rain. The girl and her sisters ran home to take in the bedding, because we sleep out of doors in the summer and it was on the ground. [476] [513]

There was a crash of thunder. All the eating people stood still and then, from the house of that girl they heard a long sigh. They ran there. All the family were lying stunned on the floor, one sister was blind, and that girl was dead. The men dragged the people out into the rain and the house began to burn. "See," said those people, "what has happened to us." Her relatives buried that girl all alone and no one would go near.

Then there was a girl who was going to build a fire, and it seemed that it reached out, and took her, and burned her up. And there was another whose mother was struck by lightning. For it is not always you who are hurt if you commit this sacrilege; it may be any one in your family.

That is why, when the lightning strikes a village, they send for the medicine man to see what woman was dangerous. He summons all the girls and looks at his crystals to see who did it. They do not punish that woman. It is enough to know that she has killed her friends. [678]

Our mothers watch us, and so mine knew when it came to me. We always had the Little House ready, over behind our own house. It was made of some branches stuck in the ground and tied together at the top, with greasewood thrown over them to make it shady. There was no rain then, for it was winter, but it was cold in that little house. The door was just big enough to crawl through, like our house door, and there was room for you to lie down inside, but not to stand up. My mother made me a new bowl and drinking cup out of clay, and put them in that house. When my [343]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

punctuated by an occasional fiesta,[1] a roundup, a death, or some other important occurence. Life is slow and measured, without the rush of events and the crowded calendar of people who live close together as do the Pueblo Indians. 461

WORKING TOGETHER

Although Reservation lands belong to the tribe as a whole, the land in and around each village is thought of as belonging to that community and is apportioned by the village or district council. If a man wishes to put in a new field, he must seek the consent of the village. Conversely, if a field has not been used for five years, the village can request the "owner" to take down his fences, or the request may come to the council from another man who wishes to use the field. The field or home site which remains in use is "owned" by the user, but, if he wishes to change either, he must obtain permission. Grazing areas also are thought of as belonging to the people of the village or the district, but an individual who has developed water resources virtually has first rights to the surrounding range and can shut off other people's cattle from the water. This general picture is complicated by the fact that certain areas were scheduled for allotment to individuals thirty years ago. Though the allotments were never approved, people know what land had been scheduled for them, and others hesitate to ask for its use. 621 423

Every village is organized for co-operative undertakings. For the care of their livestock, the men elect a foreman who has proved that he knows horses and cattle. This man, probably chosen from a prominent family in the village, serves, as long as he performs his tasks to the general satisfaction of the community, without remuneration. During the big cattle roundup in October and the horse roundup in early summer (which may include a small-scale cattle roundup), the foreman "works for the people"; *i.e.*, he has charge of all the proceedings—the day and place to start, the methods to be used, and all the activities to be carried on by the village men and boys. He is responsible for seeing that the proper brands are applied to calves and colts, a process that is carefully scrutinized by the cowboys. The foreman also decides what other co-operative work should be done to protect and improve the villagers' livestock; and when he thinks a corral should be built or a *charco* improved, he summons the men to come and help. 621 476 231

Another type of co-operative work is keeping the washes clear of brush and sandbanks, so that they will not turn out of their courses or deepen their channels, leaving established fields useless. All the men whose fields are 621 476 241

1. The fiesta, the chief religious and social event of village life, is described in the following chapter.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

621 watered by a wash are responsible for keeping it cleared; each must see to that
476 portion which runs through his field.
241

Keeping fences in repair is also often a co-operative job. When a single fence divides the fields of two men, they share the work and expense of keeping it up; however, a fence or part of one which runs along only one man's property is his responsibility.

PLATE VIII

312

United States Indian Service

WORKING TOGETHER

The white man's way: paid labor. Pouring concrete for a community stock tank, a CCC project

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476
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In Topawa there are two other community enterprises: the blacksmith shop and the village well. The shop, a corrugated metal building situated in the center of the village and well stocked with tools, was built with government funds at the request of the village, but it is the people's responsibility. Two men keep the keys, and any villager who wishes to use the shop is free to do so. The well, at which all the stock are watered when the *charco* goes dry, was also built by the government and is operated by the village. One man is responsible for running the motor and keeping up the supply of water, but each household contributes money to buy gasoline.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

609 sion, the Indians taking us to be *celadores* or mounted inspectors from the Sasabe custom-house, who at uncertain and mostly long intervals make tours along the border line. There are two hundred miles from Sasabe to the Colorado River, but the inspectors seldom or never go beyond Sonoita. The Indians seemed relieved at being correctly informed and were kind and gentle. [191] They no doubt understand Spanish, but if spoken to would answer only in Papago. Two kinds of small [136] wading birds were noticed at the dam and in the morning up to noon the coyotes would fearlessly come to drink. Some Mexican cowboys passing by lassoed one and then let it go again.

241 On the day of our departure we passed one of the fine fields which the Papagoes have here. The maize had been stored away, but two huge heaps of squashes were piled on the field; near one of them sat two women, cutting them up into long ribbons. When nearly dry these are folded up in convenient bundles and kept for winter use. There was only one small jacal in the middle of this field of plenty, and thither I directed my steps to buy some watermelons. Here also was a woman mak-
241 ing squash ribbons, great numbers of which were hang-
351 ing, festoon-like, to dry from the branches of a tree outside.

261 All these women came from other parts of the country
● 48 and were preparing to take away as much as they wished in accordance with the ancient custom which prevails at harvest time of those who have sharing with those who are less fortunate. If a Papago is known to have been

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

successful in his harvest, he will be visited by friends, relatives, and many others who have no claim on him other than the fact that they are Papago; they come to get *niári*, as they call it, many remaining with him for days. He is bound by custom to give presents of agricultural products to every one who comes. Some year when he has had a bad crop, he, in turn, may resort to niári.

At the locality where I found myself at present, Indians will in the season come for this purpose from as far away as Bisani and Quitovac. Nobody is refused, for the custom is binding and absolute. With the inroads of civilization and the accompanying disintegration of the tribe, many families are unable to practice agriculture at all; these and others, at harvest time, go visiting and return with their donkeys and mules laden with agricultural gifts. Also in May, when the wheat is being cut, the Papagoes gather from many parts at the places of those who have anything; they help in harvesting, but receive rewards even if they do not, according to the dictates of ancient hospitality. Among most of the Papagoes of Arizona the custom of niári has died out, though these natives are always hospitable and in some regions place food before the visitor even if the family is not eating. "To arrive at a Papago house is like coming to one's relatives," said Alberto, my driver.

The woman who was sitting outside of the hut was a widow from Quitovac and had no field. She had been visiting the houses of the rancheria for a month, helping the families a little by grinding corn on the metate, and

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

having a delightful time meeting friends and enjoying the gifts of autumn. "When she decides to go home she will receive loads of provisions of the new year," remarked my interpreter. One of the principal men of Quitovac was making a round of calls for the same purpose. He had only a small field himself, for at Quitovac there is much competition with the Mexicans, but, as an Indian said, "he has only to sit down; all is coming to him."

On our arrival at La Nariz, Thursday, November 11, a cold, disagreeable wind from south south-west was blowing over the llano, after dark changing to westerly, whereupon it suddenly became northerly and warmer, the sky clearing of some threatening clouds in the south. In the small hours of the morning I awoke, to my surprise, from light rain falling on my tent, which lasted for half an hour. I had made friends among the Indians at the last place visited, and their compatriots here did their best to be obliging. The next day all the men gathered outside of my tent, and we had a five hours' talk on matters of interest to both sides. La Nariz is an Indian rancheria, its name being derived from a near-by mountain which, from a certain point of view, presents the profile of a human face with a well-marked nose.

There were only five families here living in rectangular houses of ocotillo poles laid horizontally and plastered with mud. I found them pleasant to deal with and anxious to preserve what there was left to them of ancient beliefs and customs. The soul of this endeavor was an elderly medicine-man, the principal man of the place. Two medicine lodges were noticed here, one of them

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

basket bowl constituted the drum, and a small basket might serve as a drinking cup. All these because of the hard usage received were usually made of willow throughout, but for the water-tight vessels willow was essential as it swelled and filled the interstices. 285

The water bottles (no longer used) were tall, slender bottle shapes with an incurving neck. They were smeared outside with a gum-like secretion from the white brittlebush *(Encelia farinosa)*. [314]

The basket granaries seen were about three feet high and sloping up gradually from a two-foot base. The warp element was beargrass *(Nolina erumpens)* or wheat straw when the latter was available; the weft, mesquite bark *(Prosopis velutina)*. ((For details see Kissell, 16). 285 251

The tools for coiled basketry are awls with points of varying length, at present made of steel but formerly of mesquite wood, generally with a handle of creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)*. 285

COTTON SPINNING AND WEAVING

Weaving was a rare art practiced by a few old men. One who wanted a cotton blanket or skirt would trade for the cotton, either from the few who raised it or from the Pimas. He might be able to have the spinning done at home but generally he brought the load of raw cotton to the weaver, with the gift of a large basket, beads, or dried produce. This was the price for the weaving. 286 [439] [431]

The weaver called in all his neighbors for a spinning bee, giving them their meals as pay. Both men and women could spin but it was a favorite occupation of old men. They first ginned the cotton by putting it in a basket bowl and working the seeds out with a stick. To separate the fibers the worker twanged his bow string over them, causing the topmost fibers to twist around the string. This method is described by Spier (23) for the Maricopa who perhaps learned it from the Pima. The cotton was spun on a spindle of arrow weed *(Pluchea sericea)* eighteen inches high, with [476] 283

As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving children with their grandparents so they can continue uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extended family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

Many cotton harvesters recognise these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognised the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.